The Representation of Royal Majesty in Ceremonies at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts

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A wealth of sources has been preserved about the organization and procedure of court ceremonial in the early modern period. Nevertheless, in the eyes of European historians, they remained for a long time in the shadow of the prevailing political and social history, which focused almost exclusively on research into social structures and on the grand telling of national stories.[1] It was only in the last third of the 20th century that the dominant structural and sociological principles became the target of criticism by researchers dealing with the history of culture.[2] They demanded that in contrast to the history of events, which emphasized the detailed reconstruction of depersonalized historical phenomena and processes, the main object of research should be humanity, and knowledge of its world of thought, value hierarchy and everyday behaviour.

The concept, semantics and period typology of ceremonial at the early modern Habsburg courts

Human behaviour and actions should not be examined in isolation solely through the lens of history, but in the context of other scientific disciplines.[3] It is surely no accident that anthropology, ethnology and sociology have consistently dealt with ceremonial since the genesis of these scientific fields. Moreover, they were able to provide historians with an appropriate methodology and terminology. These disciplines proved that ceremonial represented a constitutive element in the social and spiritual life of various

1 Josef Válka, *Homo festivans*, in: Václav Bůžek – Pavel Král (edd.), Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku, České Budějovice 2000 (= Opera historica 8), pp. 5–19, here p. 6.

2 Peter Burke, *Overture: the New History, its Past and its Future*, in: idem (ed.), New Perspectives on Historical Writing, Cambridge 1991, pp. 1–23; Georg G. Iggers, *Dějepisectví ve 20. století. Od vědecké objektivity k postmoderní výzvě*, Praha 2002, pp. 36–40; Milan Řepa, *O krizi historie aneb Diagnózy soudobého dějepisectví*, in: Eva Semotanová (ed.), Cestou dějin I. K poctě prof. PhDr. Svatavy Rakové, CSc., Praha 2007, pp. 259–273.

3 P. Burke, *Overture*, pp. 2–6; Marian Füssel, *Die Rückkehr des „Subjekts" in der Kulturgeschichte. Beobachtungen aus praxeologischer Perspektive*, in: Stefan Deines – Stephan Jaeger – Ansgar Nünning (edd.), Historisierte Subjekte – Subjektivierte Historie. Zur Verfügbarkeit und Unverfügbarkeit von Geschichte, Berlin–New York 2003, pp. 141–160; Josef Hrdlička – Pavel Král – Rostislav Smíšek, *Symbolické jednání jako strategie aktéra a přístup historika*, in: iidem (edd.), Symbolické jednání v kultuře raného novověku. Věnováno Václavu Bůžkovi k jeho životnímu jubileu, Praha 2019, pp. 9–18, here pp. 9–10.

groups of people and even nations – i.e. a means with whose help it was possible to penetrate into their world of thought, to get to know their everyday life, and to understand the very essence of human existence and history in general.[4]

Although many researchers across various scientific fields tried to create a general definition of festivities, the common denominator of such attempts became the relationship of opposition between festivity and everyday life. Festivities were an escape from the daily course of events, thereby creating a dynamic for the time horizon.[5] At the same time, they represented a multi-layered cultural mixture of significances in which religious and political values were foregrounded. When organizing celebrations, the boundaries between private and public were often blurred.[6] In addition to the increasing role of entertainment, early modern festivities were closely linked to contemporary power – in this case the state as personified by the monarch. Ceremonial on the threshold of the modern age played a vital role in shaping the political and social identity of society. In the process of the formation of states, the pre-modern era provided a necessary institutional structure within whose framework valid norms and values were negotiated and simultaneously reflected, often clothed in a flowery language of gestures and symbols. This occurred on several representational levels – in the form of the programme of the celebrations, in the choice of the place and time for the event, in the form of ceremony, in the artistic setting, and also with the help of written and iconographic documentation of the festivities, which ensured that an originally local event was more widely disseminated through various media and preserved in lasting memory.[7]

In the eyes of the public, especially subjects, court festivities publicly demonstrated and legitimized the exclusive social position of early modern monarchs and rendered visible the supposed or real power of rulers: „*Und aus dieser Raison haben sich die frömsten Könige unter dem Volcke Gottes nicht enthalten, ihren Hofhaltungen durch anzögende*

4 Jiří Pešek, *Slavnost jako téma dějepisného zkoumání*, Documenta Pragensia 12, 1995, pp. 7–25, here p. 9; J. Válka, *Homo festivans*, pp. 6–7.

5 Aleida Assmann, *Festen und Fasten. Zur Kulturgeschichte und Krise des bürgerlichen Festes*, in: Walter Haug – Rainer Warning (edd.), Das Fest, München 1989 (= Poetik und Hermeneutik 14), pp. 227–246, here p. 232, 243; Michael Maurer, *Feste und Feiern als historischer Forschungsgegenstand*, Historische Zeitschrift 253, 1991, pp. 101–130, here pp. 102–103; Lars Deile, *Fest – eine Definition,* in: Michael Maurer (ed.), Das Fest. Beiträge zu seiner Theorie und Systematik, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2004, pp. 1–17, here p. 6.

6 J. Pešek, *Slavnost*, here p. 7; M. Maurer, *Feste und Feiern*, p. 119; Marian Füssel, *Fest – Symbol – Zeremoniell. Grundbegriffe zur Analyse höfischer Kultur in der Frühen Neuzeit*, in: Kirsten Dickhaut – Jörn Steigerwald – Birgit Wagner (edd.), Soziale und ästhetische Praxis der höfischen Fest-Kultur im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Wiesbaden 2009, pp. 31–53, here pp. 32–34.

7 M. Füssel, *Fest – Symbol – Zeremoniell*, pp. 44–47; Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Höfisches Fest als ephemere Gedächtniskunst*, in: Johannes Feichtinger – Elisabeth Großegger – Gertraud Marinelli-König – Peter Stadel – Heidemarie Uhl (edd.), Schauplatz Kultur-Zentraleuropa. Transdisziplinäre Annäherungen, Innsbruck–Wien–München–Bozen 2006, pp. 397–405.

Ceremonien und prächtige Solennitäten ein Ansehen zu machen."[8] According to Julius Bernard von Rohr, a learned jurist of German origin, this was a necessary component of the life of the royal courts on the threshold of the modern age.[9] To be perceived as a true ruler, the monarch had to be visibly represented to the rest of society. He should make use of clearly understandable means of expression in the course of his personal presentation. In addition to lavish support for the sciences and arts, this also involved the development of culture, including the organization of various costly festivities.[10]

To denote these festive occasions, contemporary agents used various terms (*Fest, kratochvíle, Kurzweil, Solennität, Spectacel, Lustbarkeit, Divertissemens, Divertimento*).[11] While many did not make much distinction between the above terms, Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, the author of a comprehensive description of Vienna and the court of Charles VI dating from 1730, was of a different opinion.[12] Like the aforementioned Julius Bernard von Rohr, he considered ceremonies (*Solennitäten*) to be festive occasions repeated every year, which in some sense disrupted the everyday stereotype and at the same time imposed a rhythm on the calendar year.[13] He further divided them into three categories. First among these were festival days (*Gala-Tage*), on which birthdays and name-days of members of the ruling family were celebrated. On these days, every member of the imperial court and every foreign ambassador in Vienna was supposed to appear „*in prächtiger und Magnificer Kleidung und kostbarer Equipage*" in the Hofburg and pay homage to the celebrant. He subsequently took part in the „*angestellten Lustbarkeiten*

8 Johann Christian Lünig, *Theatrum Ceremoniale Historico-Politicum* I, Frankfurt 1719, p. 5. Cf. Volker Kapp. *Spielen und Mitspielen. Literatur und höfische Repräsentation zur Zeit Ludwigs XIV.*, in: Fritz Reckow (ed.), Die Inszenierung des Absolutismus. Politische Begründung und künstlerische Gestaltung höfischer Feste im Frankreich Ludwigs XIV., Erlangen 1992, pp. 105–139, here p. 126; J. Válka, *Homo festivans*, p. 9.

9 Ruth-E. Mohrmann, *Fest und Alltag in der frühen Neuzeit – Rituale als Ordnungs-und Handlungsmuster*, Niedersäschsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 72, 2000, pp. 1–10, here p. 3.

10 Julius Bernard von Rohr (ed. Monika Schlechte), *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschafft der grossen Herren*, Leipzig 1989, pp. 19–26; Seraina Plotke, *Das frühneuzeitliche Hoffest als Ort synmedialer Kommunikation*, Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur und Kultur der Frühen Neuzeit 42, 2013, pp. 515–539.

11 Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Theatrum und Ceremoniale. Rang-und Sitzordnungen bei theatralischen Veranstaltungen am Wiener Kaiserhof im 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Jörg-Jochen Berns – Thomas Rahn (edd.), Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit, Tübingen 1995, pp. 91–148, here p. 111.

12 Johann Basilius Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht vom Römisch-Kayserlichen Hofe, nebst einer ausführlichen historischen Beschreibung der Kayserlichen Residentz-Stadt Wien, und der umliegenden Oerter*, Hannover 1730, pp. 219–267.

13 J. Pešek, *Slavnost*; J. Válka, *Homo festivans*; Michael Maurer, *Feste in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Aspekte, Beispiele, Perspektiven*, Erwägen – Wissen – Ethik 19, 2008, pp. 211–262, here pp. 211–212.

und Solennitäten."[14] *The Gala-Tage* usually began with a church service followed by a public feast. The festival day ended with a musical dramatic production – comedy, opera, serenade, or a performance of musical works on a lesser scale. While the performance of opera was reserved only for the imperial couple, other genres were heard on the occasion of the name-days and birthdays of all members of the ruling family and its relatives.[15] In the second group, Johann Basilius Küchelbecker included the ceremonies of the Order of the Golden Fleece, in which only members of the order participated. These last, qualitatively different in type, consisted of various religious ceremonies – solemn services, devotions and processions – collectively referred to as *Andachten and andere Ceremonien*.[16]

This scholar, originally from Thuringia, omitted various occasional festivities which, on the other hand, were extensively commented on in contemporary periodicals and by foreign diplomats in their regular or final reports. These were mainly connected with rites of passage in the life of the Habsburgs and their relatives, such as the birth of offspring, christenings, enthronements, pilgrimages, weddings and deaths. Johann Basilius Küchelbecker did not mention visits by foreign rulers to the metropolis on the Danube, the public entry of foreign diplomats into Vienna, celebrations of victories by the imperial troops over enemy armies, the conclusion of peace treaties, the crowning of miraculous images and various others.[17] Such festive occasions were marked in a much more noble and flamboyant spirit than regularly recurring celebrations. Moreover, in the vast majority of cases, they did not consist of a single production or entertainment, but of a sequence of several consecutive performances.[18]

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14 J. B. Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht*, p. 220.

15 Andreas Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre. Höfischer Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI. (1711–1740)*, Darmstadt 2003 (= Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Studien zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst), pp. 171–172.

16 J. B. Küchelbecker, *Allerneueste Nachricht*, p. 220; A. Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre*, p. 163–170.

17 „*Con esse* [musical-dramatic performances] *si solennizza ogni avvenimento mondano e ogni occasione segnata dal calendario: giorni natalizi, onomastici dei membri della casa imperiale, l'arrivo di ambasciatori turchi, gli inviati tedeschi e magari perfino la gravidanza o l'uscita dal parto di qualcuna delle imperatrici fra una vera tempesta deliziosa di note e di versi che continuano a risonare ricreando spiriti e sensi per molto tempo ancora finché si affiochiscono e si spengono, chiudendo il loro regno dinanzi ad altre epoche di nuovi uomini e di nuovi abiti.*" Umberto de Bin, *Leopoldo I imperatore e la sua Corte nella letteratura italiana*, Trieste 1910, pp. 20–21.

18 J. Válka, *Homo festivans*, pp. 10–11; Karl Vocelka – Lynne Heller, *Die Lebenswelt der Habsburger. Kultur-und Mentalitätsgeschichte einer Familie*, Graz–Wien–Köln 1997; Jeroen Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles. The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550–1780*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 140–141.

The Habsburg courts in the early modern period as a research topic

The place of permanent residence of the Holy Roman Emperors, Bohemian and Hungarian kings and Austrian dukes of the Habsburg dynasty and their main residence in the early modern era was usually the Vienna Hofburg, where most of the court festivities took place.[19] Although the courts served individual monarchs and their families to ensure the daily operation of the residence and personal representation, the organizational and social composition of the early modern organism of the imperial court and its ceremonial, power and representational significance remained fundamentally on the margins of international research for a long time.[20] A significant change occurred only at the end of the nineties of the 20th century, when members of the younger and middle generations of Austrian, German, Dutch, Spanish and later also Czech and Hungarian historians turned their attention to the royal court in Vienna. The necessary heuristic starting-point for their research was not only sources of a collective and evidentiary nature, especially previously neglected books of court accounts, court lists, court calendars, protocols of court ceremonies and instructions for court dignitaries, but also personal writings, especially diary entries, some of which became available for publication. They most frequently found methodological support in structural, historical-anthropological, prosopographical and historical-semantic approaches.[21]

19 Herbert Karner (ed.), *Die Wiener Hofburg 1521–1705. Baugeschichte, Funktion und Etablierung als Kaiserresidenz*, Wien 2014 (= Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Denkschriften der philosophisch-historischen Klasse 444).

20 With reference to older literature, see Václav Bůžek, *Dvůr habsburských císařů v letech 1526–1740 a historiografie na prahu 21. století*, in: Václav Bůžek – Pavel Král (edd.), Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr (1526–1740), České Budějovice 2003 (= Opera historica 10), pp. 5–32; Jakob Wührer, *Ein teilausgebautes Haus ohne Fundament? Zum Forschungsstand des frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hofes am Beispiel der Organisationsgeschichte*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 117, 2009, pp. 23–50; Michael Hochedlinger – Petr Maťa – Thomas Winkelbauer (edd.), *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie in der Frühen Neuzeit*. 1/1. *Hof und Dynastie, Kaiser und Reich, Zentralverwaltungen, Kriegswesen und landesfürstliches Finanzwesen*, Wien 2019 (= Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 62/1), pp. 149–264.

21 Selectively, cf. Jaroslava Hausenblasová (ed.), *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II. Eine Edition der Hofstaatsverzeichnisse 1576–1612*, Praha 2002 (= Fontes historiae artium 9); Josef Pauser – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer (edd.), *Quellenkunde der Habsburgermonarchie (16.–18. Jahrhundert). Ein exemplarisches Handbuch*, Wien–München 2004 (= Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 44); Irmgard Pangerl – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer (edd.), *Der Wiener Hof im Spiegel der Zeremoniallprotokolle (1652–1800). Eine Annäherung*, Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen 2007 (= Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 47 and Forschungen zur Landeskunde von Niederösterreich 31); Jakob Wührer – Martin Scheutz (edd.), *Zu Diensten Ihrer Majestät. Hofordnungen und Instruktionsbücher am frühneuzeitlichen Wiener Hof*, Wien–München 2011 (= Quelleneditionen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 6); Anita Hipfinger – Josef Löffler – Jan Paul Niederkorn – Martin Scheutz – Thomas Winkelbauer – Jakob Wührer (edd.), *Ordnung durch Tinte und Feder? Genese und Wirkung von Instruktionen im*

The primary research topic became the knowledge of the organizational structure of the imperial court and its subsequent comparison with the royal courts in Western Europe.[22] In the light of the ongoing processes of centralization, methods of binding the nobility from individual countries within the multinational state under the rule of the Habsburgs to their courts as centres of political power, Catholic piety and cultural representation could not remain a marginal area of scientific interest.[23] Subsequently, research by Austrian historians in particular focused on the composition and functioning of court institutions in the 17th and 18th centuries, especially the Privy Council, the Imperial Court Council and the Court Chamber, and on the financial background and cultural influence of the imperial court.[24] Valuable knowledge was collected in clear and readable entries on early modern court institutions included in an encyclopaedically-conceived handbook on the administrative history of the Habsburg monarchy, which presented the imperial court as a place for the exercise of political power on three basic levels of

zeitlichen Längsschnitt vom Mittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert, Wien–München 2012 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 60), especially pp. 87–178; Katrin Keller – Alessandro Catalano (edd.), *Die Diarien und Tagzettel des Kardinals Ernst Adalbert von Harrach (1598–1667)* I–VII, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2010 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs 104/1–7).

22 Klaus Malettke – Chantal Grell (edd.), *Hofgesellschaft und Höflinge an europäischen Fürstenhöfen in der Frühen Neuzeit (15. – 18. Jahrhundert)*, Münster–Hamburg–Berlin 2001 (= Forschungen zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, Marburger Beiträge 1).

23 J. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*; A. Pečar, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre.*

24 Among older works, cf. especially Henry Frederick Schwarz, *The Imperial Privy Council in the Seventeenth Century*, Cambridge 1943. From more recent research, see in particular Stefan Sienell, *Die Geheime Konferenz unter Kaiser Leopold I. Personelle Strukturen und Methoden zur politischen Entscheidungsfindung am Wiener Hof*, Frankfurt am Main–Berlin–Bern–Bruxelles–New York 2001; Thomas Winkelbauer, *Nervus rerum Austriacarum. Zur Finanzgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie um 1700*, in: Petr Maťa – Thomas Winkelbauer (edd.), Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620 bis 1740. Leistungen und Grenzen des Absolutismusparadigmas, Stuttgart 2006 (= Forschungen zur Geschichte und Kultur des östlichen Mitteleuropa 24), pp. 179–215; Stefan Ehrenpreis, *Kaiserliche Gerichtsbarkeit und Konfessionskonflikt. Der Reichshofrat unter Rudolf II. 1576–1612*, Göttingen 2006 (= Schriftenreihe der Historischen Kommission bei der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften 72); Peter Rauscher, *Die Finanzierung des Kaiserhofs von der Mitte des 16. bis zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts. Eine Analyse der Hofzahlamtsbücher*, in: Gerhard Fouquet – Jan Hirschbiegel – Werner Paravicini (edd.), Hofwirtschaft. Ein ökonomischer Blick auf Hof und Residenz in Spätmittelater und Früher Neuzeit, Ostfildern 2008 (= Residenzenforschung 21), pp. 405–411; idem, *Kriegführung und Staatsfinanzen. Die Habsburgermonarchie und das Heilige Römische Reich vom Dreißigjährigen Krieg bis zum Ende des habsburgischen Kaisertums 1740*, Münster 2010 (= Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V., Band 10); Hansdieter Körbl, *Die Hofkammer und ihr ungetreuer Präsident. Eine Finanzbehörde zur Zeit Leopolds I.*, Wien–München 2009 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 54).

administration – provincial, monarchical and imperial.[25] Methods of communication within the social networks of the monarch, his courtiers and clients and the formation of influential power groups at the imperial court in the 16th and 17th centuries were not overlooked in this research.[26]

Gender optics were applied to the study of the power, religious and cultural roles of empresses, and contributed new knowledge about marriage strategies involving ladies of the court and other members of leading European dynasties related to the Habsburgs.[27] In recent years, historians have found a way to research the previously neglected destinies of Habsburg archduchesses and princesses who settled in various European capitals after leaving the Viennese Hofburg.[28] Historico-anthropological approaches were espe-

[25] M. Hochedlinger – P. Maťa – T. Winkelbauer (edd.), *Verwaltungsgeschichte der Habsburgermonarchie* 1/1, pp. 149–621. Cf. Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, *Des Kaisers alte Kleider. Verfassungsgeschichte und Symbolsprache des Alten Reiches*, München 2008; Matthias Schnettger, *Kaiser und Reich. Eine Verfassungsgeschichte (1500–1806)*, Stuttgart 2020.

[26] Heinz Noflatscher, *Räte und Herrscher. Politische Eliten an den Habsburgerhöfen der österreichischen Länder 1480–1530*, Mainz 1999 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Europäische Geschichte Mainz 161); Mark Hengerer, *Kaiserhof und Adel in der Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Eine Mikrogeschichte der Macht in der Vormoderne*, Konstanz 2004 (= Historische Kulturwissenschaft 3).

[27] Beatrix Bastl, *Tugend, Liebe, Ehe. Die adelige Frau in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2000; Katrin Keller, *Hofdamen. Amtsträgerinnen im Wiener Hofstaat des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2005; eadem, *Die Kaiserinnen. Reich, Ritual und Dynastie*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2021; Bettina Braun – Katrin Keller – Matthias Schnettger (edd.), *Nur die Frau des Kaisers? Kaiserinnen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, Wien 2016 (= Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 64); Oliver Mallick, *„Spiritus intus agit". Die Patronagepolitik der Anna von Österreich 1643–1666. Inszenierungsstrategie, Hofhaltungspraxis, Freundschaftsrhetorik*, Berlin–Boston 2016 (= Pariser historische Studien 106); Julia Hodapp. *Habsburgerinnen und Konfessionalisierung im späten 16. Jahrhundert*, Münster 2018 (= Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte 169); Marion Romberg (ed.), *Empresses and Queens in Courtly Public Spheres from the 17th to the 20th Century*, Leiden 2021; Elena Taddei, *Die Este und das Heilige Römische Reich im langen 16. Jahrhundert. Kontakte – Konflikte – Kulturtransfer*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2021.

[28] Renate Schreiber, *„ein galeria nach meinem humor". Erzherzog Leopold Wilhelm*, Wien 2004 (= Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 8); Joseph F. Patrouch, *Queen´s Apprentice. Archduchess Elizabeth, Empress Maria, the Habsburgs, and the Holy Empire 1554–1569*, Leiden 2010 (= Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions 148); Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and Piety. Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars*, Farnham 2012; Katrin Keller, *Erherzogin Maria von Innerösterreich (1551–1608). Zwischen Habsburg und Wittelsbach*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2012; Sandra Hertel, *Maria Elisabeth. Österreichische Erzherzogin und Statthalterin in Brüssel (1725–1741)*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2014; Carolin Pecho, *Fürstbischof, Putschist, Landesherr. Erzherzog Leopolds Herrschaftsentwürfe im Zeitalter des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, Berlin 2017 (= Geschichte 139); Elena Taddei, *Anna Caterina Gonzaga (1566–1621). Erzherzogin von Österreich, Landesfürstin von Tirol und Klösterstifterin*, Innsbruck 2021.

cially influenced by works whose authors attempted to interpret the image of the ruler in various types of sources, including iconographic and literary ones.[29]

The development of research into early modern Habsburg courts in Central Europe would be stimulated by the Höfe des Hauses Österreich working group, which was established in 1999 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna.[30] Although it proved possible to create an international network of mutually cooperating researchers, organize several highly effective conferences and bring out new publications,[31] the intended time-consuming research on the composition of the imperial court in the early modern period, and especially the prosopographically conceived database of persons in the service of the court, has not yet been completed despite considerable efforts.[32] An exception is the prosopographical and structural analysis of society at the court of Leopold I in the

[29] For methodological initiatives in research of this kind, see Peter Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, New Haven–London 1992. In addition, cf. Maria Goloubeva, *The Glorification of Emperor Leopold I in Image, Spectacle and Text*, Mainz 2000; Rouven Pons, *„Wo der gekrönte Löw hat seinen Kayser-Sitz". Herrschaftsrepräsentation am Wiener Kaiserhof zur Zeit Leopolds I.*, Engelbach–Frankfurt am Main–München–New York 2001; Jutta Schumann, *Die andere Sonne. Kaiserbild und Medienstrategien im Zeitalter Kaiser Leopolds I.*, Berlin 2003 (= Colloquia Augustana 17); Štěpán Vácha, *Der Herrscher auf dem Sakralbild zur Zeit der Gegenreformation und des Barock. Eine ikonologische Untersuchung zur herrscherlichen Repräsentation Kaiser Ferdinand II. in Böhmen*, Praha 2009; Rostislav Smíšek, *Markéta Tereza Španělská v symbolické řeči barokních performancí. Teze habilitační práce*, Opera historica 16, 2015, pp. 70–99; idem, *Markéta Marie Španělská v alegorické řeči barokních performancí*, České Budějovice 2022 (Habilitation); Blanka Kubíková, *The Image of Princess and Queen Anne of Bohemia and Hungary in the Habsburg Dynasty Self-Presentation*, Umění 67, 2019, pp. 270–293.

[30] Jan Paul Niederkorn – Stefan Sienell, *Arbeitskreis „Höfe des Hauses Österreich"*, Frühneuzeit-Info 12, 2001, No. 2, pp. 7–9; V. Bůžek, *Dvůr habsburských císařů*, pp. 15–17.

[31] A selection of these: Heinz Noflatscher – Jan Paul Niederkorn (edd.), *Der Innsbrucker Hof. Residenz und höfische Gesellschaft in Tirol vom 15. bis 19. Jahrhundert*, Wien 2005 (= Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 138); Richard Bösel – Grete Klingenstein – Alexander Koller (edd.), *Kaiserhof – Papsthof (16. – 18. Jahrhundert)*, Wien 2006 (= Publikationen des Historischen Instituts beim Österreichischen Kulturforum in Rom 12); Václav Bůžek (ed.), *Ein Bruderzwist im Hause Habsburg (1608–1611)*, České Budějovice 2010 (= Opera historica 14).

[32] In recent years Mark Hengerer and Gerhard Schön (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München) have made considerable progress in compiling and making available a similar database of courtiers at the Habsburg courts in the 16th and 17th centuries. This is a database with the title *Kaiser und Höfe: eine prosopographische Datenbank* – http://kaiserhof.geschichte.lmu.de/ (15. 12. 2022). For a closer and more detailed account of its concept, see Mark Hengerer – Gerhard Schön, *Eine Datenbank zu Höflingen des Kaiserhofs im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, Mitteilungen der Residenzenkommission 3, 2014, pp. 72–75.

years 1657–1705,[33] and at the courts of Charles VI and Maria Theresa between 1711 and 1765.[34]

In Czech historical scholarship, concepts of methodology and content based on foreign research into the early modern imperial court were applied very slowly in the last quarter of a century, with the exception of the reign of Rudolph II.[35] On the one

33 The following programmatic studies are closely related to this: Stefan Sienell, *Die Wiener Hofstaate zur Zeit Leopolds I.*, in: K. Malettke – Ch. Grell (edd.), Hofgesellschaft und Höfling, pp. 89–110; Sigrid Freisleben – Elisabeth Hilscher – Christine Ottner – Stefan Sienell, *Die Wiener Hofgesellschaft während der Regierungszeit Kaiser Leopolds I. (1657–1705). Eine Projektvorschau*, Mitteilungen der Residenzen-Kommission der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 12, 2002, No. 1, pp. 30–39. For a specific database of individual members of the court, see https://www.oesta.gv.at (15. 12. 2022).

34 Irene Kubiska-Scharl – Michael Pölzl, *Aus allerhöchster Gnade – Das Wiener Hofpersonal in den Hofkalendern und Hofparteienprotokollen des 18. Jahrhunderts. Skizze eines Forschungsprojekts*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 120, 2012, pp. 406–418; iidem, *Die Karrieren des Wiener Hofpersonals 1711–1765. Eine Darstellung anhand der Hofkalender und Hofparteienprotokollen*, Innsbruck–Wien–Bozen 2013 (= Forschungen und Beiträge zur Wiener Stadtgeschichte 58).

35 Methodological changes in the views of historians began to occur from the late 1990s onwards. In addition to traditional art-historical approaches to Rudolph II, the imperial court and patronage, historical-anthropological starting points began to be applied when researching the ruler's intellectual milieu, his cultural representation, the careers of noblemen in court service, and their daily life in Prague palaces and manor houses in the countryside. For this, cf. Robert John Weston Evans, *Rudolf II and His World. A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612*, Oxford 1973; Karl Vocelka, *Die politische Propaganda Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1576–1612)*, Wien 1981; Josef Janáček, *Rudolf II. a jeho doba*, Praha 1987; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, *The School Prague: Painting at the Court of Rudolf II*, Chicago–London 1988; *Prag um 1600. Kunst und Kultur am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, Freren 1988; Eliška Fučíková – Beket Bukovinská – Ivan Muchka, *Die Kunst am Hofe Rudolfs II.*, Hanau 1988; Eliška Fučíková – James M. Bradburne – Beket Bukovinská – Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Lubomír Konečný – Ivan Muchka – Michal Šroněk (edd.), *Rudolf II. a Praha. Císařský dvůr a rezidenční město jako kulturní a duchovní centrum střední Evropy*, Praha–London–Milano 1997; Lubomír Konečný – Beket Bukovinská – Ivan Muchka (edd.), *Rudolf II, Prague and the World. Papers from international Conference Prague, 2–4 September 1997*, Praha 1998; J. Hausenblasová (ed.), *Der Hof*; Beket Bukovinská – Lubomír Konečný (edd.), *München – Prag 1600*, Praha 2009 (= Studia Rudolphina, Sonderheft 01); iidem (edd.), *Dresden – Prag um 1600*, Praha 2018 (= Studia Rudolphina, Sonderheft 02); Beket Bukovinská, *Die Kunstkammer Rudolf II. Entstehung, Niedergang, Wiederentdeckung*, in: Sabine Haag – Franz Kirchweger – Paulus Rainer (edd.), Das Haus Habsburg und die Welt der fürstlichen Kunstkammern im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Wien 2015 (= Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums 15), pp. 229–254; Ivo Purš – Vladimír Karpenko (edd.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II. Exploring the Secrets of Nature in Central Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Praha 2016; Dirk Jacob Jansen, *Jacopo Strada and Cultural Patronage at the Imperial Court. The Antique as Innovation* I–II, Leiden–Boston 2019 (= Rulers & Elites. Comparative Studies in Governance 17); Jürgen Zimmer (ed.), *Die Schatz-und Kunstkammer Kaiser Rudolf II. in Prag. Inventare und Listen im Kontext weiterer Quellen von 1576 bis 1860*, Praha 2021 (= Studia Rudolphina, Sonderheft 03). For a closer examination with additional bibliographical references, see Václav Bůžek, *Rudolf II. – jeho vláda, dvůr, mecenát a kulturní reprezentace ve šlechtických sídlech* (forthcoming).

hand, historians had to deal critically with a deep-rooted domestic tradition of negative evaluation of the Habsburg dynasty;[36] on the other hand, their research was inconceivable without the adoption of methodological innovations, without the ability to establish research topics suitable for comparative consideration, and without performing time-consuming heuristics. A necessary condition for research into the Habsburg courts was the study of previously unavailable archival sources stored mainly in Vienna, Linz, Innsbruck and Graz, which usually displayed a continuity of content with the state records and archives of the nobility in the Czech Republic.

Interest in finding connections between the residences of the Austrian and Spanish Habsburgs and the investigation of client networks at the courts of Madrid, Vienna and Prague in the second half of the 16th and the first third of the 17th centuries did not remain a marginal area for the attention of Czech historical scholarship.[37] Only in rare cases did Czech historians go beyond the aforementioned time period and devote their attention to mutual relations between the two branches of the Habsburg dynasty until the extinction of the Spanish branch in 1700.[38] The gradual unravelling of personal and client ties, especially at the imperial courts of Maximilian II and Rudolph II, and the published correspondence of papal nuncios made a significant contribution to the social milieu.[39] New insights were contributed by research whose authors were involved in

36 In particular Václav Bůžek, *Die Habsburger in der frühneuzeitlichen tschechischen Geschichtsforschung*, Opera historica 20, 2019, pp. 288–315.

37 Pavel Marek, *Klientelní strategie španělských králů na pražském císařském dvoře konce 16. a počátku 17. století,* Český časopis historický 105, 2007, pp. 40–89; idem, *La red clientelar española en la corte imperial en la época de Olivares*, in: José Martínez Millán – José Eloy Hortal Muno (edd.), La corte de Felipe IV. (1621–1665): reconfiguration de la Monarquía Católica. De la Monarquía universal a la Monarquía Católica. La guerra de los Treinta Anos IV/1, Madrid 2018, pp. 117–172; Tomáš Černušák – Pavel Marek (edd.), *Gesandte und Klienten. Päpstliche und spanische Diplomaten im Umfeld von Kaiser Rudolf II.*, Berlin–Boston 2020.

38 Rostislav Smíšek, *„Quod genus hoc hominum": Margarita Teresa de Austria y su corte española en los ojos de los observadores contemporáneos*, in: José Martínez Millán – Rubén González Cuerva (edd.), La Dinastía de los Austria. Las relaciones entre la Monarquía Católica y el Imperio II, Madrid 2011, pp. 909–952; idem, *Střední Evropa a Španělsko v polovině 17. století. Markéta Tereza Španělská a její španělský hofštát očima soudobých pozorovatelů*, Český časopis historický 109, 2011, pp. 397–431; Ondřej Lee Stolička, *Different German Perspectives on Spanish Politics in the 1670s: The Reaction of Vienna and Berlin on the Coup of Juan José de Austria in the Year 1677*, Journal of Early Modern History 23, 2019, pp. 367–385; idem, *Výběr středoevropských rytířů do Řádu zlatého rouna za regentství španělské královny Marie Anny Habsburské (1665–1675)*, Opera historica 22, 2021, pp. 34–52.

39 Alena Pazderová (ed.), *Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628* I. *Epistulae et acta Caesaris Speciani 1592–1598. Pars I. Mai 1592 – Dezember 1592. Pars II. Januar 1593 – Dezember 1593. Pars III. Januar 1594 – Dezember 1594*, Praha 2016; Tomáš Černušák (ed.), *Epistulae et acta nuntiorum apostolicorum apud imperatorem 1592–1628. Tomus IV. Epistulae et acta Antonii Caetani 1607–1611. Pars IV. September 1608 – Junius 1609,* Praha 2013*; Pars V. Julius 1609 – Februarius 1611*, Praha 2017. Cf. Alexander Koller, *Imperator und Pontifex. Forschungen*

building up an image of the Habsburg emperors through the activities of their ambassadors at royal courts in early modern Europe.[40] Some of them did not hesitate to organize, at their own expense, lavish festivities and entertainments celebrating the imperial majesty, which were deeply etched in the memory of contemporary observers.[41]

Newspapers, pamphlets, panegyrics and other printed media of the period served as a heuristic starting-point for scholars in researching the political propaganda of the monarchs and their cultural representation.[42] New knowledge about cultural and scientific patronage, which served not only to satisfy the intellectual interests of the rulers but also formed an inseparable part of the representation of their power in the residences, afforded a deeper insight into the worlds of thinking of selected Habsburg emperors and

zum Verhältnis von Kaiserhof und römischer Kurie im Zeitalter der Konfessionalisierung (1555–1648), Münster 2012 (= Geschichte in der Epoche Karls V., Band 13).

40 Friedrich Polleross, *Die Kunst der Diplomatie. Auf den Spuren des kaiserlichen Botschafters Leopold Joseph Graf von Lamberg (1653–1706)*, Petersberg 2010; Rubén Gonzáles Cuerva, *Baltasar de Zuñiga. Una encrucijada de la monarquía hispana (1599–1622)*, Madrid 2012; Pavel Marek, *La embajada española en la corte imperial 1558–1641. Figuras de los embajadores y estrategias clientelares*, Praha 2013; Jiří Kubeš et alii, *V zastoupení císaře. Česká a moravská aristokracie v habsburské diplomacii 1640–1740*, Praha 2018; Martin Bakeš, *Diplomatem v půlnoční zemi. Zástupci Habsburků ve Švédském království mezi lety 1650 a 1730*, Praha 2020; Rostislav Smíšek – Monika Konrádová (edd.), *Mezi Vídní, Varšavou a Moskvou. Diplomatická cesta Jana Kryštofa z Fragsteinu do Moskvy v letech 1657–1658*, České Budějovice 2020 (= Prameny k českým dějinám 16.–18. století B/10).

41 Rostislav Smíšek, *Anton Florian von Liechtenstein und Rom. Selbstpräsentation eines kaiserlichen Gesandten zum Ausgang des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Marek Vařeka – Aleš Zářický (edd.), Das Fürstenhaus Liechtenstein in der Geschichte der Länder der Böhmischen Krone, Ostrava–Vaduz 2013, pp. 197–212; Martin Krummholz, *Das Mäzenatentum des Grafen Johann Wenzel von Gallas und seine Festivitäten in Rom 1714–1719*, Frühneuzeit-Info 27, 2016, pp. 35–53; idem, *Habsburgische Propaganda des kaiserlichen Botschafters am päpstlichen Hof am Beispiel des Gesandten Johann Wenzel von Gallas (1714–1719)*, in: Werner Telesko (ed.), Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen Dynastie in Musik, visuellen Medien und Architektur 1618–1918, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2017, pp. 263–283.

42 E.g. Jana Hubková, *Die Festlichkeiten zu Ehren Kaiser Maximilian II. in der Flugschriftenpublizistik der Jahre 1549–1564*, Studia Rudolphina 17–18, 2018, pp. 35–65; Kateřina Pražáková, *Vláda Maxmiliána II. pohledem rožmberského zpravodajství*, Folia historica bohemica 29, 2014, pp. 257–283; eadem, *Don Juan de Austria. Obraz populárního levobočka španělského krále v psaném a tištěném zpravodajství*, in: J. Hrdlička – P. Král – R. Smíšek (edd.), Symbolické jednání v kultuře raného novověku, pp. 276–291; Rostislav Smíšek, *Deplua Charitum Aurora. Leopold I. a Markéta Tereza Španělská v symbolické řeči gratulačního spisu Sebastiana Glaviniče k jejich sňatku roku 1666*, Listy filologické 137, 2014, pp. 41–71; idem, *Jásón a jeho družina. Leopold I. a účastníci slavnostního vjezdu do Vídně 5. prosince 1666 očima barokního básníka*, in: J. Hrdlička – P. Král – R. Smíšek (edd.), Symbolické jednání v kultuře raného novověku, pp. 48–64; idem, *Leopold I. a Markéta Tereza Španělská v alegorické řeči příležitostné poezie k jejich sňatku roku 1666*, Český časopis historický 119, 2021, pp. 353–386; Václav Bůžek, *Elephants in the Political Propaganda of Maximilian II*, in: Stefan Hanß – Dorothea McEwan (edd.), The Habsburg Mediterranean 1500–1800, Wien 2021 (= Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 145), pp. 279–303.

archdukes as well as their aristocratic entourage.[43] An interest in the representation of the ruler led female historians and art historians in particular to research the construction history of Prague Castle in the 16th century, the functions of the adjacent gardens, and the decoration of the Hvězda (Star) Summer Palace in the royal domain.[44] Rather less frequently, Czech researchers into the history of the visual arts, music and theatre touched upon the architectural, musical and iconographic aspects of festivities connected with the Habsburgs.[45] A similar approach could also be observed in the case of analyses of the symbolic message of the celebration of rites of passage within the imperial family in individual cities of the countries of the Czech Crown on the threshold of the modern age, especially ephemeral architecture.[46]

The influence of theoretical discussions on the nature of absolutism in early modern Europe stimulated scientific interest in the instruments for the integration of the nobility from the Bohemian Crown Lands into the courts of the Habsburg emperors and the independently ruling Austrian dukes. These investigations yielded new insights

43 A selection of these: Sylva Dobalová – Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Die Zitruskultur am Hofe Ferdinands I. und Anna Jagiellos. Import und Anbau von Südfrüchten in Prag 1526–1564*, Studia Rudolphina 15, 2015, pp. 9–36; Ivo Purš – Hedvika Kuchařová (edd.), *Knihovna arcivévody Ferdinanda II. Tyrolského I–II*, Praha 2015; I. Purš – V. Karpenko (edd.), *Alchemy and Rudolf II.*

44 Jan Bažant, *The Prague Belvedere, Emperor Ferdinand I and Jupiter*, Umění 53, 2005, pp. 285–295; Petr Uličný, *The Palace of Queen Anne Jagiello and Archduke Ferdinand II of Tyrol by the White Tower in Prague Castle*, Historie – otázky – problémy 7, 2015, No. 2, pp. 142–161; idem, *The Garden of Archduke Ferdinand II at Prague Castle*, Studia Rudolphina 17–18, 2018, pp. 23–34; idem, *The Summer Palace in the Royal Garden of Prague Castle and the First Renaissance Recreationae Building in Central Europe*, Umění 67, 2019, pp. 514–537; idem, *A Difficult Mission. The Building of the St Vitus Cathedral in the Time of Ferdinand I and Anna Jagiellon (1526–1547)*, Umění 68, 2020, pp. 172–192; Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II. Jejich vznik a vývoj*, Praha 2009; Sylva Dobalová – Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Ivan P. Muchka – Ivo Purš, *Hvězda. Arcivévoda Ferdinand Tyrolský a jeho letohrádek v evropském kontextu*, Praha 2014.

45 Tomáš Kleisner, *Amat Victoria curam: The Device of Archduke Matthias on His Medals*, Studia Rudolphina 9, 2009, pp. 87–99; Jana Spáčilová – Štěpán Vácha, *New Insights into the Performance of Fux's Opera Costanza e Fortezza in Prague in 1723*, Music in Art. International Journal of Music Iconography 34, 2009, pp. 44–72; Jan Baťa, *Praga festivans. Music played during the Prague Festivities of 1527 and 1558*, Historie – otázky – problémy 7, 2015, pp. 247–259; idem, *Remarks on the Festivities of the Order of the Golden Fleece in Prague (1585)*, Musicologia Brunensia 51, 2016, pp. 25–35; Petr Slouka, *Serenata J. H. Schmelzera k zásnubám arcivévodkyně Marie Antonie Habsburské*, Opus musicum 4, 2015, pp. 20–35; Miroslav Kindl, *Maškaráda a díl komedie… Slavnosti, ceremonie a jejich obrazové a grafické dokumentace na habsburském dvoře ve střední Evropě v 17. století*, Olomouc 2015 (Dissertation); Irena Veselá, *Venga quel dì felice? Dynastisch-politische Botschaften in musikalischen Huldigungswerken für Karl VI. und Elisabeth Christine (1723)*, in: W. Telesko (ed.), Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen Dynastie, pp. 135–157.

46 Filip Komárek – Tomáš Valeš, *Castra doloris raného novověku na Moravě jako fenomén barokní efemérní dekorace*, Epigraphica & Sepulcralia 4, 2013, pp. 251–286; Kateřina Dolejší, *Dvojí triumf. Slavobrána olomouckých jezuitů z roku 1699*, Opuscula historiae artium 65, 2016, pp. 34–55.

into the careers of nobles at royal courts, the formation of pressure groups and their place in behind-the-scenes power games.[47] The diaries, memoirs and correspondence of nobles served to reveal personal reflections of court careers, and Czech historical science has devoted considerable attention to making them publicly available in the last quarter of a century.[48] The destinies of soldiers in the service of the Habsburgs did not remain a marginal topic within the scholarly interests of Czech researchers, and included the

47 Tomáš Knoz, *Absolutismus nebo „absolutismus"? K dějinám jednoho pojmu*, Časopis Matice moravské 121, 2002, pp. 451–483; Petr Maťa – Thomas Winkelbauer, *Einleitung: Das Absolutismuskonzept, die Neubewertung der frühneuzeitlichen Monarchie und der zusammengesetzte Staat der österreichischen Habsburger im 17. und frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, in: iidem (edd.), Die Habsburgermonarchie 1620–1740, pp. 7–42; Jiří Hrbek, *Absolutismus. Konstrukce a dekonstrukce jednoho historického pojmu*, Český časopis historický 105, 2007, pp. 643–689; Luděk Březina, *Mezi králem a stavy. Dolnolužické zemské fojtství na prahu novověku (1490–1620)*, Praha 2016. Cf. Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem. Šlechta z českých zemí na cestě ke dvorům prvních Habsburků*, České Budějovice 2006 (= Monographia historica 7); idem, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck. Der Adel aus den böhmischen Ländern auf dem Weg zu den Höfen der ersten Habsburger*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2009; idem, *Wege des Adels aus den böhmischen Ländern zu den habsburgischen Höfen im 16. und zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts*, in: Anna Fundárková – István Fazekas et alii, Die weltliche und kirchliche Elite aus dem Königreich Böhmen und Königreich Ungarn am Wiener Kaiserhof im 16. – 17. Jahrhundert, Wien 2013 (= Publikationen der Ungarischen Geschichtsforschung in Wien 8), pp. 15–36; Petr Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie (1500–1700)*, Praha 2004; Rostislav Smíšek, *Císařský dvůr a dvorská kariéra Ditrichštejnů a Schwarzenberků za vlády Leopolda I.,* České Budějovice 2009 (= Monographia historica 11); idem, *Die Dietrichsteiner und der Kaiserhof an der Schwelle der Neuzeit*, in: A. Fundárková – I. Fazekas (edd.), Die kirchliche und weltliche Elite, pp. 337–367; idem, *Die Schwarzenberger und ihr Weg an den Kaiserhof im 17. und zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: A. Fundárková – I. Fazekas (edd.), Die kirchliche und weltliche Elite, pp. 441–468; Ivo Cerman, *Habsburgischer Adel und Aufklärung. Bildungsverhalten des Wiener Hofadels im 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 2010 (= Contubernium. Tübinger Beiträge zur Universitäts-und Wissenschaftsgeschichte 72); idem, *Šlechtická kultura v 18. století. Filozofové, mystici, politici*, Praha 2011; Jiří Hrbek, *Barokní Valdštejnové v Čechách 1640–1740*, Praha 2013; idem, *Proměny valdštejnské reprezentace. Symbolické sítě valdštejnského rodu v 17. a 18. století*, Praha 2015; Petra Vokáčová, *Příběhy o hrdé pokoře. Aristokracie českých zemí v době baroka*, Praha 2014.

48 Petr Vorel, *Vídeňský deník rytíře Dvoreckého z roku 1559*, Folia historica bohemica 19, 1998, pp. 7–36; Marie Koldinská – Petr Maťa (edd.), *Deník rudolfínského dvořana. Adam mladší z Valdštejna 1602–1633*, Praha 1997; Pavel Marek (ed.), *Svědectví o ztrátě starého světa. Manželská korespondence Zdeňka Vojtěcha Popela z Lobkovic a Polyxeny Lobkovické z Pernštejna*, České Budějovice 2005 (= Prameny k českým dějinám 16.–18. století B/1); Marie Ryantová, *Památníky aneb štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum. Kuturně historický fenomén raného novověku*, České Budějovice 2007 (= Monographia historica 8); Zdeněk Vybíral (ed.), *Paměti Pavla Korky z Korkyně. Zápisky křesťanského rytíře z počátku novověku*, České Budějovice 2014 (= Prameny k českým dějinám 16.–18. století B/4); Rostislav Smíšek (ed.), *Kniha poznámek Ferdinanda z Ditrichštejna z let 1683–1697. Kritická edice*, in: Václav Bůžek (ed.), Šlechta raného novověku pohledem českých, francouzských a španělských historiků, České Budějovice 2009 (= Opera historica 13), pp. 307–398, idem (ed.), *Císařský dvůr v polovině 17. století očima nejvyššího hofmistra arciknížete Leopolda Viléma. Deník Jana Adolfa ze Schwarzenberku z roku 1657*, Folia historica bohemica 27, 2012, pp. 263–314; idem (ed.), *Das Tagebuch Ferdinands zu Schwarzenberg aus den Jahren 1686–1688 und 1696–1697*, České Budějovice 2015 (= Prameny k českým dějinám 16.–18. století B/5).

role of memories of the military past of ancestors and its significance for the formation of noble identity in the new social conditions after the Battle of the White Mountain, and for the personal and family representation of noble persons.[49]

Czech historians and their foreign colleagues paid considerable attention to the residences of the emperors and the representation of monarchical power and piety in the symbolic speech of ceremonies and everyday life at their courts in a voluminous two-volume work called *The Habsburgs*, primarily focused on knowledge about their rule in the Central European monarchy.[50] In 2017 and 2018, the court, court festivities, patronage and collecting at the court of Ferdinand of Tyrol were among the main themes of exhibitions at Ambras Castle near Innsbruck and at the Valdštejnská jízdárna in Prague, the concept of which was jointly developed by Czech and Austrian experts.[51] Similar topics formed the focus of scholarly communications for an international symposium.[52] Both exhibitions demonstrated one of the ways towards a possible view of the representation of political power and Catholic piety in the environment of the early modern Habsburg courts. In their concept, they provided a sequel to the spectacular Rudolfinum exhibition held in 1997 in Prague.[53]

A different approach was demonstrated by an interdisciplinary exhibition about ceremonial at the court of Leopold I, already organized by the Olomouc Art Museum in 2017. Using the example of a specific monarch and the surviving pictorial documentation, it presented a diverse range of festivities held during his long reign which constituted a carefully planned and detailed part of court representation. Its main goal was to emphasize the powerful position of the emperor in Europe.[54]

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49 Vít Vlnas, *Princ Evžen Savojský. Život a sláva barokního válečníka*, Praha–Litomyšl 2001; Vítězslav Prchal, *Společenstvo hrdinů. Válka a reprezentační strategie českomoravské aristokracie 1550–1750*, Praha 2015, especially pp. 83–243; Václav Bůžek – František Kreš – Petr Mareš – Miroslav Žitný, *Rytíři renesančních Čech ve válkách*, Praha 2016.

50 Václav Bůžek – Rostislav Smíšek (edd.), *Habsburkové 1526–1740. Země Koruny české ve středoevropské monarchii*, Praha 2017; Ivo Cerman (ed.), *Habsburkové 1740–1918. Vznikání občanské společnosti*, Praha 2016.

51 Sabine Haag – Veronika Sandbichler (edd.), *Ferdinand II. 450 years sovereign ruler of Tyrol. Jubilee exhibition*, Innsbruck 2017; Blanka Kubíková – Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Sylva Dobalová (edd.), *Ferdinand II. Arcivévoda Ferdinand II. Habsburský. Renesanční vladař a mecenáš. Mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem*, Praha 2017.

52 S. Dobalová – J. Hausenblasová (edd.), *Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria*.

53 E. Fučíková – J. M. Bradburne – B. Bukovinská – J. Hausenblasová – L. Konečný – I. Muchka – M. Šroněk (edd.), *Rudolf II. a Praha*.

54 Kateřina Fajtlová – Miroslav Kindl (edd.), *Koně v pištolech. Slavnosti na dvoře císaře Leopolda I.*, Olomouc 2017.

Festivities at the early modern courts of the Habsburgs as seen through the lens of research findings

Although a pioneering culturally and historically conceived Austrian work on weddings at the Habsburg courts in the second half of the 16th century was published as early as 1976, research on court festivities remained on the margins of the attention of Central European historians for a long time.[55] It was only the interest in the construction and functional history of the Vienna Hofburg that led researchers on the threshold of the new millennium to examine the use of its interior and exterior spaces during daily court ceremonies and court festivities.[56] Above all, historians of architecture and the fine arts achieved valuable partial insights in this respect. Some of them did not hesitate to reflect in their works on the allegorical message of the (ephemeral) decoration of the spaces in which the festivities were held, and to place them in the context of the representational strategies of the royal family.[57] At the same time, works were created that took into account the theatrical, musical and dance aspects of court festivities.[58]

55 Karl Vocelka, *Habsburgische Hochzeiten 1550–1600. Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zum manieristischen Repräsentationsfest*, Wien–Köln–Graz 1976. A similar methodological approach is evident in Herbert Seifert, *Der Sig-prangende Hochzeit-Gott: Hochzeitsfeste am Wiener Hof der Habsburger und ihre Allegorik 1622–1699*, Wien 1988; Andrea Sommer-Mathis, *Tu felix Austria nube. Hochzeitsfeste der Habsburger im 18. Jahrhundert*, Wien 1994 (= Dramma per Musica 4).

56 Most recently on this subject: H. Karner (ed.), *Die Wiener Hofburg*, pp. 470–508; W. Telesko (ed.), *Die Repräsentation der Habsburg-Lothringischen Dynastie*.

57 Franz Matsche, *Die Kunst im Dienst der Staatsidee Kaiser Karls VI. Ikonographie, Ikonologie und Programmatik des „Kaiserstils"*, Berlin–New York 1981; Friedrich Polleross, *Des abwesenden Prinzen Porträt. Zeremonielldarstellung im Bildnis und Bildnisgebrauch im Zeremoniell*, in: J. J. Berns – T. Rahn (edd.), Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik, pp. 382–409; idem, *Tradition und Recreation. Die Residenzen der österreichischen Habsburger in der frühen Neuzeit (1490–1780)*, Majestas 6, 1998, pp. 91–148; idem, *Pro decore Majestatis. Zur Repräsentation Kaiser Leopolds I. in Architektur, bildender und angewandter Kunst*, Jahrbuch des Kunsthistorischen Museums 4–5, 2003, pp. 191–295; idem, *Barocke Feste und ihre Bildquellen*, in: Andrea Sommer-Mathis – Daniela Franke – Rudi Risatti (edd.), Spettacolo barocco! Triumph des Theaters, Wien 2016, pp. 98–119; Petr Fidler, *La Contesa dell'aria e dell'acqua. Zum Zeit-und Raumbegriff einer Barockperformance*, in: V. Bůžek – P. Král (edd.), Slavnosti a zábavy, pp. 359–379.

58 Herbert Seifert, *Die Oper am Wiener Kaiserhof*, Tutzing 1985; Andrea Sommer-Mathis – Friedrich Polleross – Teresa Chaves Montoya, *El teatro descubre América: fiestas y teatro en la Casa de Austria (1492–1700)*, Madrid 1992; Steven Saunders, *Cross, Sword, and Lyre. Sacred Music at the Imperial Court of Ferdinand II. of Habsburg (1619–1637)*, Oxford 1995; Pierre Béhar – Herbert Schneider (edd.), *Der Fürst und sein Volk. Herrscherlob und Herrscherkritik in den habsburgischen Ländern der frühen Neuzeit*, Röhring 2004; Susanne Rode-Breymann, *Musiktheater eines Kaiserpaars: Wien 1677 bis 1705*, Hildesheim–Zürich–New York 2010; Andrew H. Weaver, *Sacred Music as Public Image for Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand III.*, New York 2012; A. Sommer-Mathis – D. Franke – R. Risatti (edd.), *Spettacolo barocco*; Andrea Zedler, *Kantaten für Fürst und Kaiser. Antonio Caldaras Kompositionen zwischen Unterhaltung und höfischem Zeremoniell*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2020; Margret Scharrer – Heiko Lass – Matthias Müller (edd.), *Musiktheater im höfischen Raum des frühneuzeitlichen Europa. Hof – Oper – Architektur*, Heidelberg 2020.

In the last two decades, especially in German historical scholarship, concepts of symbolic communication have been more prominently reflected in research into the history of Habsburg rule in the early modern Holy Roman Empire and the Central European monarchy, as well as the representation of their political power and Catholic piety, enabling an interdisciplinary study of the rituals of the imperial court as a tool to confirm the power, authority and legitimacy of the ruler during coronations, ceremonial entrances, tributes and other public performances.[59]

Although in recent years Czech historical scholarship has also begun to devote attention to the representation of royal majesty during court festivities, even before the end of the 1980s Czech researchers were primarily focusing their initial systematic reflections on early modern festivities on the aristocratic milieu.[60] Their efforts came to fruition only a decade later, when Czech researchers devoted their attention to noble participants in knightly tournaments at the court of Ferdinand of Tyrol during his time as governor in Prague and the significance of the Jesuit ceremonies at the time of Ferdinand of Styria's election as King of Bohemia.[61] Ceremonial procedures connected with rites of passage in the lives of people of noble birth in the 16th and early 17th centuries, whether weddings or funerals, aroused more lively research interest. The main questions of the historians concerned procedure, the composition of the participants, and also, to a lesser degree, the political significance of the ceremonies. On the other hand, the

59 Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger – Tim Neu, *Einleitung*, in: Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger – Tim Neu – Christina Brauner (edd.), Alles nur symbolisch? Bilanz und Perspektiven der Erforschung symbolischer Kommunikation, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2013 (= Symbolische Kommunikation in der Vormoderne. Studien zur Geschichte, Literatur und Kunst), pp. 11–31. Especially Benita Berning, *„Nach altem löblichen Gebrauch". Die böhmischen Königskrönungen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Köln–Weimar Wien 2008 (= Stuttgarter Historische Forschungen 6); Harriet Rudolph, *Das Reich als Ereignis. Formen und Funktionen der Herrschaftsinszenierung bei Kaisereinzügen (1558–1618)*, Köln–Weimar–Wien 2011 (= Norm und Struktur. Studien zum sozialen Wandel in Mittelater und Früher Neuzeit 38); Monique Chatenet – Murielle Gaude-Ferragu – Gérard Sabatier (edd.), *Princely Funerals in Europe 1400–1700. Commemoration, Diplomacy, and Political Propaganda*, Tournhout 2021 (= European Festival Studies: 1450–1700). Ideas of symbolic communication only marginally penetrated the concept of festive tournaments and similar sporting events with a theatrical element. Cf. Stefan Krause – Matthias Pfaffenbichler (edd.), *Turnier. 1 000 Jahre Ritterspiele*, Wien 2017.

60 For this, in a general context, see Josef Válka – Miloš Štědroň, *Svátky a slavnosti v dějinách kultury*, Opus musicum 18, 1986, pp. 289–297. For the aristocratic milieu, see Jaroslav Pánek, *Aristokratické slavnosti české renesance*, Opus musicum 19, 1987, pp. 289–297.

61 Jaroslav Pánek, *Der Adel im Turnierbuch Erzherzog Ferdinands II. von Tirol (Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Hoflebens und der Hofkultur in der Zeit seiner Statthalterschaft in Böhmen)*, Folia historica bohemica 16, 1993, pp. 77–96; idem, *Phasma Dionysiacum a manýristické slavnosti na Pražském hradě roku 1617 (Jejich dobový a typologický rámec)*, Folia historica bohemica 17, 1994, pp. 117–131 and further studies published in a special issue on a single theme of the journal Folia historica bohemica 17, 1994.

interpretation of the language of the symbolic devices employed in the dramaturgy of the weddings and funerals of noble persons remained in the background.[62]

Historians in the Czech Republic signed up for systematic research into early modern ceremonial at an international symposium in 1998, where, in addition to the presentation of the results of a number of case studies from court, noble and ecclesiastical environments, calls were made for their theoretical definition and a broad interdisciplinary concept.[63] The emphasis on the collective experience of ceremonial as a public legitimization of the social position of the individual and his identity, faith and power, which was enhanced by the theatrical, musical and artistic component of the celebrations with elements of sacred solemnity or unbridled entertainment different from the experience of everyday life, began to be applied very slowly in subsequent researches focused on the court environment of the Habsburgs.[64]

The study of ceremonial at the early modern Habsburg courts led Czech historical science primarily towards an increased interest in the history of noble individuals, their court careers and representation in the imperial residence and residences of the archdukes. From this stage of research, the path of Czech historical science led towards the study of ceremonial as a unique manifestation of the court life of the Habsburgs. When researching knightly pastimes at the court of the governor Ferdinand of Tyrol in Prague, the focus of attention began to shift from the original interest in ceremonial procedures and the composition of the participants to their representational and propaganda significance for the centralizing policy of the Habsburgs and the legitimization of their power

62 Idem, *Der böhmische Vizekönig Wilhelm von Rosenberg und seine deutschen Ehen*, in: Sabine Tanz (ed.) Mentalität und Gesellschaft im Mittelalter. Gedenkschrift für Ernst Werner, Frankfurt am Main 1994, pp. 271–300; Petr Vorel, *Pernštejnská svatba v Prostějově roku 1550*, Časopis Matice moravské 114, 1995, pp. 135– 158; Václav Bůžek, *Aliance Rožmberků, Zrinských ze Serynu a Novohradských z Kolovrat na počátku 17. století*, Jihočeský sborník historický 65, 1996, pp. 10–25; Václav Bůžek – Josef Hrdlička et alii, *Dvory velmožů s erbem růže. Všední a sváteční dny posledních Rožmberků a pánů z Hradce*, Praha 1997, pp. 80–97, 112–119, 185–194; Václav Bůžek – Josef Hrdlička – Pavel Král – Zdeněk Vybíral, *Věk urozených. Šlechta v českých zemích na prahu novověku*, Praha–Litomyšl 2002, pp. 259–380; P. Maťa, *Svět české aristokracie*, pp. 605–640; Pavel Král, *Pohřby posledních pánů z Hradce*, in: Václav Bůžek (ed.), Poslední páni z Hradce, České Budějovice 1998 (= Opera historica 6), pp. 401–512; idem, *Ronšperské setkání. Švamberský pohřeb jako místo politické komunikace předbělohorské šlechtické společnosti*, Jihočeský sborník historický 68, 1999, pp. 291–307; idem, *Trauer und Ruhm. Trauerzüge böhmischer Aristokraten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert*, in: Václav Bůžek – Dana Štefanová (edd.), Menschen – Handlungen – Strukturen. Historisch-anthropologische Zugangsweisen in den Geschichtswissenschaften, České Budějovice 2001 (= Opera historica 9), pp. 117–137; idem, *Smrt a pohřby české šlechty na počátku novověku*, České Budějovice 2004 (= Monographia historica 8).

63 V. Bůžek – P. Král (edd.), *Slavnosti a zábavy*.

64 Cf. J. Válka, *Homo festivans*, here especially pp. 7–9.

in the Kingdom of Bohemia around the middle of the 16th century.[65] From a wide range of topics relating to festivities at the Habsburg courts in the early modern period, Czech researchers in the last twenty years have devoted attention to the representation of the monarch's majesty during royal coronations,[66] during ceremonial entrances to metropolises in the lands of their realm[67] during visits by the imperial court to cities and to the

65 V. Bůžek, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem*, especially pp. 174–253; idem, *Ferdinand von Tirol zwischen Prag und Innsbruck*, pp. 207–303.

66 Štěpán Vácha, *„Mutatio vestis" v korunovačním ceremoniálu českých králů z rodu Habsburků v 16. až 18. století*, Folia historica bohemica 22, 2006, pp. 251–266; Jiří Kubeš, *Trnitá cesta Leopolda I. za římskou korunou (1657–1658). Volby a korunovace ve Svaté říši římské v raném novověku*, České Budějovice 2009; idem, *Volba a korunovace Karla VI. římským císařem v roce 1711*, Český časopis historický 111, 2013, pp. 805–841; Štěpán Vácha – Irena Veselá – Vít Vlnas – Petra Vokáčová, *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristina. Česká korunovace 1723*, Praha–Litomyšl 2009; Jiří Hrbek, *Panovnický ceremoniál a rituál v historickém bádání začátku 21. století*, Český časopis historický 108, 2010, pp. 496–518; idem, *České barokní korunovace*, Praha 2010; idem, *Christomimésis. Habsburkové jako Kristovi následovníci v 17. a 18. století*, Český časopis historický 114, 2016, pp. 32–63; idem, *Die Unterbringung des Habsburger Hofes während der Krönungsfeste in Prag (1627–1723)*, in: Gerhard Ammerer – Ingonda Hannesschläger – Martin Holý (edd.), Festvorbereitung. Die Planung höfischer und bürgerlicher Feste in Mitteleuropa 1500–1900, Leipzig 2021, pp. 174–193; Kateřina Pařízková, *Pražská korunovace krále Matyáše dne 23. května 1611 ve světle dobových pramenů*, Sborník archivních prací 42, 2012, pp. 275–368; Petr Vorel, *Císařská korunovace ve Frankfurtu nad Mohanem roku 1612 a česká účast na těchto událostech*, Theatrum historiae 10, 2012, pp. 59–166; Rostislav Smíšek, *Uherská korunovace Josefa I. jako prostředek symbolické komunikace*, Český časopis historický 112, 2014, pp. 624–654; Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Die Krönung Maximilians II. zum böhmischen König 1562 in Prag und ihre langjährigen Vorbereitungen*, in: G. Ammerer – I. Hannesschläger – M. Holý (edd.), Festvorbereitung, pp. 153–173.

67 Mlada Holá, *Holdovací cesty českých panovníků do Vratislavi v pozdním středověku a raném novověku (1437–1617)*, Praha 2012; Jiří Hrbek, *Panovnické vjezdy do pražských měst v pobělohorské době (1620–1740)*, in: J. Hrdlička – P. Král – R. Smíšek (edd.), Symbolické jednání v kultuře raného novověku, pp. 32–47; R. Smíšek, *Jásón a jeho družina*. From a different point of view and with a summary of the literature, Václav Ledvinka, *Veřejné a soukromé zábavy aristokracie v sídelním městě na prahu raného novověku (Konfliktní soužití, kulturní sbližování, „metropolizace" šlechty?)*, Documenta Pragensia 40, 2021, s. 435–469.

estates of important court dignitaries,[68] during the lavish journeys of Habsburg brides to their future husbands,[69] and during hunts, weddings[70] and funerals.[71]

The current research interest of Czech historical science has resulted in the first collective attempt at a synthetic and interdisciplinary view of the representation of sovereign majesty in the 17th and 18th centuries, which sought answers to two basic questions.

[68] Petra Luniaczková, *Der Aufenthalt des Wiener Hofes Kaiser Karls VI. in Böhmen und Mähren anläßlich der königlichen Krönung im Jahre 1723*, Frühneuzeit-Info 13, 2002, pp. 25–32; Jan Schwaller, *„…císař všeliké zvůle myslivecké a lovův používati chtíti ráčí." Pobyt Leopolda I. v Čechách roku 1680 pohledem vrchnostenské správy*, in: Eva Doležalová – Jan Hrdina – Jan Kahuda (edd.), Pater familias. Sborník příspěvků k životnímu jubileu prof. Dr. Ivana Hlaváčka, Praha 2002, pp. 447–457; Tomáš Sterneck – Petra Vokáčová, *Letní císařská návštěva v královském městě. Průjezd Karla VI. a jeho dvořanů Českými Budějovicemi v srpnu 1723*, Jihočeský sborník historický 72, 2003, pp. 175–207; Petra Vokáčová, *Dvorní cesta císaře Karla VI. do Karlových Varů 1732*, in: V. Bůžek – P. Král (edd.), Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr, pp. 457–468; Zdeněk Kazlepka, *Dvě návštěvy Karla VI., „preziosissime Tapezzerie, abgemahlene Einzug deren Römlichen Kaysern" a pictor Carolus na zámku v Brtnici roku 1723*, Památková péče na Moravě 11, 2006, pp. 51–62; Rostislav Smíšek, *Leopold I., Markéta Tereza Španělská a Ferdinand z Dietrichsteina. Návštěva císařské rodiny v Mikulově roku 1672 jako prostředek symbolické komunikace*, in: Václav Bůžek – Jaroslav Dibelka (edd.), Člověk a sociální skupina ve společnosti raného novověku, České Budějovice 2007 (= Opera historica 12), pp. 65–111; Miroslav Lukáš – Christian Neuhuber, *Wasserspiel und Feuerwerk. Der Nikolsburger Aufenthalt Kaiser Leopolds I. im Jahr 1691*, Divadelní revue 31, 2020, No. 2, pp. 83–92; Jan Štěpán, *Návštěva arcivévody a olomouckého biskupa Leopolda Viléma ve Vyškově v roce 1656*, Vyškovský sborník 10, 2014, pp. 7–29; Jiří Hrbek, *Habsburkové v barokním Chebu. Pobyty členů panovnické dynastie v nejzápadnější části českých zemí*, Bohemiae Occidentalis Historica 4, 2018, No. 2, pp. 29–49.

[69] Radmila Pavlíčková, *„Polská" cesta roku 1670. Město Olomouc a biskup Karel z Liechtensteinu-Castelkorna jako hostitelé císařského dvora*, Acta Universitatis Palackianae. Historica 29, 2000, pp. 97–105; Václav Štěpán, *Cesty polské královny Eleonory přes Moravu v letech 1670 a 1675*, Olomoucký archivní sborník 2, 2004, pp. 120–155; Monika Konrádová – Rostislav Smíšek, *Habsburgowie i Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. Przyjazd arcyksiężniczki Eleonory Marii do Rzeczypospolitej w 1670 roku jako sposób komunikacji symbolicznej*, Historia Slavorum Occidentis 2015, No. 2, pp. 101–136.

[70] Václav Bůžek, *Řeč symbolů při oslavě svatby Ferdinanda Tyrolského a Anny Kateřiny Gonzagové v Innsbrucku roku 1582*, in: Jan Galeta – Ondřej Jakubec – Radka Nokkala Miltová – Tomáš Valeš (edd.), Od dějin umění k uměleckému dílu. Cesty k porozumění vizuální kultuře, Brno 2021, pp. 65–76, 623.

[71] Václav Bůžek – Pavel Marek, *Smrt Rudolfa II.*, Praha 2015; idem, *Krankheiten, Sterben und Tod Kaiser Rudolfs II. in Prag*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 125, 2017, pp. 40–67; idem, *The Funerals of the Emperor Rudolph II in the Spanish Monarchy, 1612*, in: Tibor Martí – Roberto Quirós Rosado (edd.), Eagles Looking East and West. Dynasty, Ritual and Representation in Habsburg Hungary and Spain, Turnhout 2021 (= Habsburg Worlds 4), pp. 97–119; Václav Bůžek, *Smrt a pohřby Ferdinanda I. a jeho synů. Reprezentace katolické víry, politické moci a dynastické paměti Habsburků*, Praha 2020; idem, *Tod und Begräbnisse Ferdinands I. und seiner Söhne. Repräsentation katholischen Glaubens, politischer Macht und dynastischen Gedächtnisses bei den Habsburgern*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2021; idem, *Die Vorbereitung der Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten der habsburgischen Kaiser und österreichischen Erzherzöge zu Beginn der Neuzeit*, in: G. Ammerer – I. Hannesschläger – M. Holý (edd.), Festvorbereitung, pp. 111–129; idem, *Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten nach dem Tod von Kaiserin Anna von Tirol und Kaiser Matthias* (forthcoming).

On the one hand, the authors asked what symbolic means represented the monarch, if he was not present in the Kingdom of Bohemia, when his image was rendered present and works of musical and visual art were commissioned. On the other hand, they examined the tools of the monarch's representation during his presence in the country, especially during court progresses, ceremonial entries, religious devotions and hunts.[72]

In recent years, the interest of Czech historical scholarship in the communication networks of the Habsburg rulers, their representation and court festivities has had a retroactive effect on research into the rites of passage of noble individuals in the Bohemian lands. Historians once again turned their attention to noble weddings in an attempt to understand the particularly powerful and religious significance of transnational marriage alliances, the background of which was the Habsburg monarchy, the symbolic language of wedding celebrations, and their cultural contribution.[73]

Conclusion

The historian Jiří Pešek has aptly documented that ceremonial represents a multi-layered research topic which can be approached through the lens of the perspectives of various scientific disciplines and from various methodological and conceptual starting-points.[74] An understanding of court ceremonial of the early modern period is one of the basic prerequisites for an understanding of the meaning of the existence of the institution of the imperial court, the hierarchical organization of the court organism and the ranking of its members headed by the ruler, and the solemn nature of imperial dignity in the eyes of contemporaries.[75] Early modern court festivities had a multimedia character, as they conveyed contemporary ideas about the political and social organization of society to individuals and entire social groups with the help of language, images, music, ceremony, facial expressions, gestures, costumes, scenery and accompanying acoustics. The methodological turn from the description of court ceremonial to the interpretation of the

72 Jiří Hrbek et alii, *Panovnický majestát. Habsburkové jako čeští králové v 17. a 18. století*, Praha 2021.

73 Cf. Rostislav Smíšek, *Die Heiratsstrategien der Fürsten zu Schwarzenberg 1600 bis 1750*, in: Ronald G. Asch – Václav Bůžek – Volker Trugenberger (edd.), Adel in Südwestdeutschland und Böhmen 1450–1850, Stuttgart 2013 (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für geschichtliche Landeskunde in Baden-Württemberg 191, Reihe B), pp. 127–154; Pavel Marek, *Pernštejnské ženy. Marie Manrique de Lara a její dcery ve službách habsburské dynastie*, Praha 2018; Václav Bůžek, *Šňatek Viléma z Rožmberka a Anny Marie Bádenské*, Český časopis historický 119, 2021, pp. 565–611; idem, *Die übernationalen Heiratsallianzen des böhmischen Adels im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: Gisela Drosbach – Mark Hengerer (edd.), Adel im östlichen Europa. Zwischen lokaler Identität, Region und europäischer Integration, Berlin 2021 (= DigiOst 10), pp. 117–152.

74 J. Pešek, *Slavnost jako téma*, p. 7.

75 M. Maurer, *Feste in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, pp. 211–212; Andreas Pečar, *Dynastien – Trager der Staatsbildung? Überlegungen zu Herrschaft und Staatsbildung in kulturvergleichender Perspektive anlässlich einer prominenten Neuerscheinung*, Zeitschrift für historische Forschung 44, 2017, pp. 51–67.

representational mission of the literary, artistic, musical and other symbols used in its scenarios allows historians to reveal the basic building-blocks of the identity of the early modern Habsburg rulers, transmitted from generation to generation through the depth of dynastic memory, which included a divine origin, Christian virtues, the Catholic faith, and responsibility for the *bonum commune* in the lands under their rule.[76]

[76] Herbert Karner – Jens Niebaum – Eva-Bettina Krems (edd.), *Sakralisierungen des Herrschers an europäischen Hofen. Bau – Bild – Ritual – Musik (1648–1740)*, Regensburg 2019; Doris Fischer – Susanne Rott (edd.), *Fürstliche Feste. Höfische Festkultur zwischen Zeremoniell und Amüsement*, Petersberg 2020 (= Jahrbuch der Stiftung Thüringer Schlösser und Gärten 23); Richard L. M. Morris, *Court Festivals of the Holy Roman Empire, 1555–1619. Performing German Identity*, Turnhout 2020 (= European Festivals Studies: 1450–1700); Borbála Gulyás, *„gegen den Bluedthunden und Erbfeindt der Christenhait". Thematisierung der Türkengefahr in Wort und Bild im Rahmen der höfischen Feste der Habsburger in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts*, in: Robert Born – Sabine Jagodzinski (edd.), Türkenkriege und Adelskultur in Osmitteleuropa von 16. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, Ostfildern 2014 (= Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 14), pp. 217–236; eadem, *Die Turniere an den Höfen der österreichischen Könige im 16. Jahrhundert*, in: S. Krause – M. Pfaffenbichler (edd.), Turnier, pp. 131–153; Václav Bůžek, *Self-presentation of Archduke Ferdinand in Hunting Entertainment during his Activity as Governor in the Kingdom of Bohemia*, in: S. Dobalová – J. Hausenblasová (edd.), Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria, pp. 115–130.

Václav Bůžek – Rostislav Smíšek

The Representation of Royal Majesty in Ceremonies at the Early Modern Habsburg Courts

Abstract

Understanding the court ceremonial of early modern times is one of the basic prerequisites for an understanding of the meaning of the existence of the institution of the imperial court, the hierarchical arrangement of the court as an organism and the ranking of its members, with the sovereign at their head. The present study therefore maps the development of research on the courts of the Habsburg emperors in the 16th-18th centuries from the perspective of Czech and Central European historiography. In the first part, the authors attempt to provide a general definition of ceremonial on the threshold of modern times. They devote special attention to the semantic significance of period terms associated with ceremonial, and note the contemporary typology of celebrations at the court of the sovereign. They go on to analyse the historiographic development of research into the imperial court and the ceremonies closely associated with it at the early modern courts of the Habsburgs, especially in the last two decades.

KEYWORDS:
early modern period; Habsburgs; court festivities; historiography